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CONTENTS

The Beginnings of Printing in Florida

Douglas C. McMurtrie

Material in the National Archives Relating to
Florida

Elizabeth B. Drewry

Pioneer Florida :

Sidelights on Early American St. Augustine

T. Frederick Davis

The Conservation of Historic Sites in Florida

C. R. Vinten

Reviews and Notes :

The History of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort
Matanzas

The Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Floreda
Negroes in the Seminole War

The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History

The Florida Historical Society

T. Ralph Robinson

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St. Augustine, Florida

Richd H Long
JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF A

CONVENTION OF DELEGATES

TO FORM

A CONSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE OF FLORIDA,

HELD AT ST. JOSEPH,

DECEMBER,

1838.

ST. JOSEPH:

PRINTED AT THE "TIMES" OFFICE,
1838.

From the library of Julien C. Yonge

THE BEGINNINGS OF PRINTING IN FLORIDA

by DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

Editor-in-chief, *Bibliography of American Imprints*

Printing came to Florida not as a result of natural expansion with a gradually increasing necessity for a press, nor for the purpose of Christianizing the Indians as was the case in some other areas; printing was introduced there as a result of war conditions outside the province. Florida had passed from Spanish to English hands in 1763 and had remained true to England throughout the Revolution, offering a haven for Tory refugees from the colonies to the north. In 1782 there was a great influx of loyalist Georgians, and later in the year, with the withdrawal of British troops from Charleston, refugees from South Carolina also came to Florida.

With the fleet that left Charleston for St. Augustine on December 14, 1782, was Dr. William Charles Wells, member of the Charleston printing family of that name and temporarily manager of the press for his older brother, John Wells. Acting in the name of his brother, Dr. Wells established the first Florida press and early in February 1783 began the St. Augustine *East-Florida Gazette*, royalist semi-official journal.

Dr. Wells's father, Robert Wells, was a Scotch bookseller and publisher who had opened a printing establishment at Charleston in 1758, when he established the *South-Carolina Weekly Gazette*. John Wells joined his father as publisher of the *Gazette* in 1775, and Robert Wells left for England during the summer, having made himself unpopular in South Carolina by his avowed loyalist sentiments. Three months later he was followed by William Charles Wells, who studied medicine in Edinburgh and London and in 1779 went to Holland as surgeon for a Scotch regiment in the service of the United Mr. McMurtrie died on September 29 while this number was in press.

Provinces. He returned to Edinburgh and received his degree of M.D., coming back to Charleston early in 1781. Meanwhile, John Wells had become publisher of the *Gazette* in his own name and issued it as a patriot journal. Dr. Wells is said to have persuaded his brother to visit their father in England for the purpose of reconciling him after the estrangement which followed John Wells's temporary adoption of the patriot views.

Although his name did not appear in connection with the *Gazette*, Dr. Wells edited it through the latter part of 1781 and all of 1782. Under him it was known as the Royal Gazette and appeared as a loyalist organ. When Dr. Wells became a part of the royalist exodus to St. Augustine, he took along with him the press and types as well as a pressman. The press was taken to pieces in order to transport it, and when he reached Florida, Dr. Wells found that his pressman could not reassemble it. He declared it the business of a press-joiner and out of his territory. Dr. Wells was neither an accomplished printer nor a mechanic, but he found among his books a printer's grammar, and by studying its illustrations he was able to put the press in order with the aid of a negro carpenter.¹

The earliest known copy of his *East-Florida Gazette* is volume one, number five, dated "From Saturday, February 22, to Saturday, March 1, 1783," from which it would seem that the paper had first appeared on February 1, 1783. It was "Printed by Charles Wright for John Wells, jun."² at the Printing-office in Treasury-lane, where Advertisements and Subscriptions are taken in." Wright is known

1. Aikman, quoting an extract from the obituary of William Charles Wells in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1817.
2. John Wells and John Wells, jun., were the same person. Possibly he had an uncle named John to whom he was "junior."

only through the appearance of his name as printer of the *Gazette* and was probably the pressman of the incident mentioned above.³

Dr. William Charles Wells made a trip to Charleston in July, 1783, to transact some business for his brother, and was greeted there with considerable bad grace as the editor of a loyalist paper. He was arrested and kept in jail for three months, with public opinion so aroused against him that rioters threatened the home of friends who were kind to him while he was imprisoned. He was finally allowed to leave for St. Augustine, "and very narrowly escaped death by the wreck of his vessel, on the passage thither."⁴ Dr. Wells continued to publish the *East-Florida Gazette* until his brother's arrival at St. Augustine from England in the spring of 1784.⁵ In consequence of his brother's return, the doctor left for Great Britain in May, 1784. He became famous in London as a physician and natural scientist and was honored by the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow, in 1816. He died September 18, 1817.

Two books were printed at St. Augustine in 1784 over the name of John Wells and may have been

3. The only surviving issues of the *East-Florida Gazette* that are known are in the Public Record Office in London, where they were discovered by the late Dr. Worthington Ford. In addition to number 5, they are no. 14, "From Saturday, April 26, to Saturday, May 3, 1783," and no. 16, "From Saturday, May 10, to Saturday, May 17, 1783." The Library of Congress has photographs of the three from which I published facsimile reproductions, with an introductory note, in 1942. An issue of April 19 and an extra of April 21, 1783, are known from contemporary references, and another notice, concerning the issue of March 22, 1784, shows that the paper was published as late as the spring of that year.
4. Bartlett, p. 7, 17 (*v. Bibliography* appended.)
5. Aikman, p. 99, quoting from Dr. Wells's memoirs: "In consequence of my Brother's arrival from England, I embarked at St. Augustine for Great Britain in May 1784." Also Seibert, p. 138.

THE CASE
OF
The INHABITANTS
OF
E A S T - F L O R I D A

W I T H
An APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
PAPERS, BY WHICH ALL THE FACTS STATED IN THE
CASE, ARE SUPPORTED.

ST. AUGUSTINE, EAST-FLORIDA
PRINTED BY JOHN WELLS,
MDCCLXXXIV.
From the John Carter Brown Library

actually printed by him after his return from England. *The Case of The Inhabitants of East-Florida* was issued in fifty-seven pages with the imprint "St. Augustine, East-Florida : Printed by John Wells, MDCCLXXXIV." Also an edition of about a hundred copies of Samuel Gale's *Essay II. On The Nature and Principles of Publick Credit* appeared with the imprint "St. Augustine, East-Florida: Printed, for the author, by John Wells. MDCCLXXXIV."

The end of the Revolutionary War also marked the end of the European war involving England and Spain. In the peace treaty it was provided that Florida be exchanged for the recently captured Havana. The loyalist refugees in St. Augustine again found it necessary to move, and many of them went to the Bahama Islands. Among these was John Wells, who set up his press at Nassau, New Providence, and began publication of the *Bahama Gazette*, which he continued as late as the end of the century.⁶ He did some printing for export as well as for local use, issuing an almanac for 1787 intended for use in South Carolina and Georgia.⁷

6. Three copies of the *Bahama Gazette* are in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. The first is for March 17-24, 1787, v. 4, no. 138, "Printed by John Wells, at the Printing-Office in George-Street." The other issues are those of October 4-11, 1788, "Printed by John Wells, at the Printing-Office in Church-Street ;" and June 18-21, 1799, "Printed by John Wells." Seibert, p. 189, refers to this paper as the *Royal Bahama Gazette*, but none of the extant copies bear this title.

Thomas, v. 1, p. 351, says that Wells went from South Carolina directly to the Bahamas, making no mention of any printing in Florida. In my own article on *The First Printing in Florida* (1931) the error was made of saying that Wells went first to the Bahamas and then came to Florida. William Nelson, *Notes Toward a History of the American Newspaper*, New York, 1918, p. 80, made the same error.

7. *Andrews' South Carolina and Georgia Almanack and Ephemeris* for 1787 had the imprint: "Nassua [sic] New Providence: Printed by John Wells." Mabel L. Webber, "South Carolina Almanacs to 1800," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, v. 24, 1914, p. 73-81.

At the time John Wells was in St. Augustine, East Florida was under British sovereignty, but by the treaty of September 3, 1783, both of the Floridas were ceded by Great Britain to Spain. They remained under Spanish control until July 10, 1821, when Spain relinquished the territory to the United States.

It has been thought until quite recently that no printing was done in Florida under the Spanish regime. There are, however, in the collections of Thomas W. Streeter and Everett D. Graff, copies of a pamphlet printed at Fernandina, on Amelia Island, in the northeast corner of Florida, in 1817. This is entitled *Report of the Committee Appointed to Frame the plan of provisional Government for the Republic of Floridas*. It was signed by Peter Gual, chairman, Vicente Pazos, and M. Murden. The imprint read: "Fernandina December 9th of 1817, first of the Independence of Floridas." This is the only extant product of the press at Fernandina known to me. Davis identifies R. Findley as "printer to the government." The press was operated in conjunction with Louis Aury's short-lived piratical government on Amelia Island.⁸

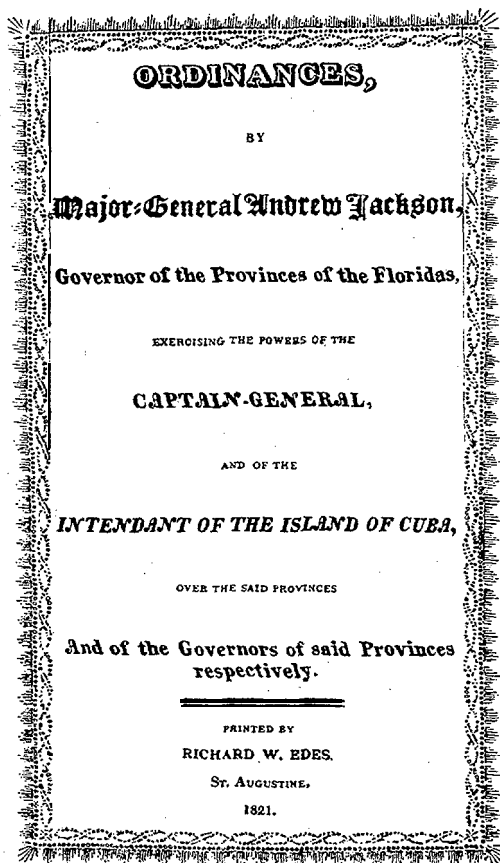
That a newspaper intended to promote the revolutionary movement was also published on the press has been pointed out to me by Clarence S. Brigham, of the American Antiquarian Society. The existence of *El Telegrafo de las Floridas* is known only from the following article in the *Charleston Courier* of December 19, 1817: "El Telegrafo de las Floridas. An attentive correspondent at St. Marys, forwarded to us by the last mail, the first number of a weekly

8. In 1942 I published a facsimile, reproduction of the Report, made with his kind permission from the Thomas W. Streeter copy, with an introductory note on the short-lived "Republic of the Floridas."

newspaper under the above title, printed in Spanish at Amelia Island. It announced a meeting of the Representatives of the Floridas under a discharge of artillery on the 1st inst. when Col. Irwin was elected President of that body, and steps were taken for the complete organization of the new Republican government. The paper abounds in editorial remarks upon the future destinies of the Republic of Florida, and with sentiments of contempt and detestation for the government of Spain. Its object is to furnish a record of passing events in that island, with interesting extracts from American and other foreign papers." This interesting newspaper must have expired almost immediately, for Aury's forces were subjugated by American war vessels on December 23, 1817.⁹

Printing was permanently established in Florida only when it came under United States rule in 1821. The earliest known product of the new press was a Spanish broadside directed to "Inhabitants of East Florida" announcing that on July 10, 1821, possession of the province of Florida was to be surrendered to Colonel Robert Butler, and that the Spanish troops were to evacuate the territory, in accordance with the treaty of February 22, 1819. Religious freedom, protection for private property, and the right to remove to Spanish territory, particularly Cuba, were promised in the broadside. The people were commanded to give their final proof of fidelity to Spain by obeying the King's order in transferring their allegiance to the United States. The broadside was signed by Colonel Jose Coppinger and dat-

9. Davis (*v. Bibliography* appended) gives a complete account of the revolutionary government of 1817. It seems likely that some other printing may have been done at Fernandina at that time. Possibly many of the manifestoes quoted by Davis from contemporary Carolina and Georgia newspapers were first issued on Amelia Island as printed broadsides.



From the Library of Congress

ed "San Agustin de la Florida 7 de Julio de 1821." ¹⁰

Although there is no imprint on this document, it was certainly printed at St. Augustine by Richard Walker Edes, who established the *Florida Gazette* there early in July, 1821. ¹¹ Edes came from a family of distinguished patriot printers. His grandfather, Benjamin Edes, was a Boston printer for fifty years and published the *Boston Gazette*, chief organ of the revolutionary party. Richard's father, Peter Edes, printed in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Maine, and during the Revolution was imprisoned by the British for his patriotic activities. Richard's older brother, Benjamin Edes III, printed at Baltimore during and after the War of 1812, and it was in his shop that the *Star-Spangled Banner* was first printed. ¹² It was with a firm American tradition and a family background of nearly seventy years in the printing business that Richard Edes had come to Florida in 1821. Unfortunately, Edes died October 15, 1821, in St. Augustine. Besides the *Gazette* and the broadside already noticed, he is known to have printed only one other work, but a single copy of which is known to me: *Ordinances, by Major-General Andrew Jackson, Governor of the Provinces of the Floridas*, which had the imprint: "Printed by Richard W. Edes, St. Augustine, 1821." ¹³ Edes's associates are not

10. The original document is in the library of the Florida Historical Society and is reproduced in facsimile in the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, v. 6, July 1927, p. 40. Opposite the facsimile is a translation, which makes the error of saying that possession of Florida will be surrendered "On the tenth day of next month" (which would be August 10), instead of "On the next tenth day" (July 10).

11. The earliest extant issue is that of July 28, 1821, v. 1, no. 3, which would indicate that the paper was established July 14, 1821.

12. Knauss, p. 57. (v. *Bibliography*).

13. The only known copy of the *Ordinances* as printed by Edes is in the Library of Congress. In 1941 I published a facsimile reproduction of the pamphlet, with an introductory note.

known, but the *Florida Gazette* was continued by them until the end of 1821.

The next printing office in St. Augustine was that of Elias B. Gould,¹⁴ who established the *East Florida Herald* in August 1822. Gould was a native of New Jersey and had entered the printing business at Newark, where in 1807 and 1808 he published the *Modern Spectator* in partnership with one Kollock, possibly Isaac Arnett Kollock. Gould continued to print in Newark until 1810, when he went to New York City, remaining there as late as 1818. In 1822 he came to St. Augustine from Charleston, South Carolina, and began the publication of his paper there. Its title was shortened to *Florida Herald* in 1829, and in 1834 Elias B. Gould was succeeded in its management by his son, James M. Gould. The printing office was destroyed by fire in January, 1835, and the paper was not re-established until April of that year. The *Herald* was continued by Gould beyond the end of the territorial period in 1845.

The Goulds had no competition in St. Augustine until 1838, although in 1834 James W. Simmons had proposed establishing a paper there, and in 1836 a Mr. Cocke had announced the intention of establishing a paper to be known as the *Florida Intelligencer*. Daniel W. Whitehurst, a native of Virginia who had seen service in Florida during the Seminole War, established the *St. Augustine News* in November, 1838. Whitehurst published the *News* until the end of 1840 and remained as editor through part of the next year, when he left Florida for New York. In 1843 he received the degree of doctor of medicine from New York University. About 1845 he went to Key West, where he accepted a position as post surgeon at Fort Jefferson, then being constructed

14. Knauss, p. 59-60.

on the island of Tortugas. He remained there until his death January 19, 1872.¹⁵

Whitehurst was succeeded on the *News* by Thomas T. Russell and Aaron Jones, Jr. Russell, a southerner by birth, published the *News* until the spring of 1845, when he left St. Augustine for Jacksonville, where he published for a short time the *Florida Whig*, a party organ which existed solely for political purposes. Jones came to the *News* from the Jacksonville *East Florida Advocate*, but he remained with the St. Augustine paper only a few months. From 1842 to 1844 Russell had as a partner Charles E. O'Sullivan, previously a compositor on the *Savannah Republican* of Georgia. After his two years in Florida, O'Sullivan returned to Savannah, where he was printing as late as 1869. When Russell left the *News* in 1845 he was followed by Albert A. Nunes, a foreign-born printer who was brought to the United States in 1819 at the age of two. He came to Florida about 1838, and his career after 1845 is not known. The *News* was moved to Jacksonville in 1846.

The third Florida printing town was Pensacola in West Florida, where Cary Nicholas and George Tunstall established a printing office in the summer of 1821. They ordered a press from Philadelphia in April, 1821, but it did not arrive at Pensacola until August 10, and on August 18, 1821, the first number of the Pensacola *Floridian* appeared. Nicholas, one of its publishers, was born in Virginia about 1786 and served in the United States army as an officer from 1809 to 1821, retiring as a major. He and Tunstall published the *Floridian* together until June, 1822. George Brook Tunstall was a printer from Nashville, Tennessee, where he had learned the trade in the shop of his uncle, Thomas

15. Knauss, p. 68.

Todd. From 1817 to 1821 Tunstall had been co-publisher of the *Nashville Whig*. After his brief appearance in Florida he became a planter in nearby Baldwin County, Alabama, where he died July 28, 1842.

About the earliest products of the Pensacola press, aside from the *Floridian*, were a number of broadsides containing the ordinances proclaimed in 1821 by Major General Andrew Jackson for the government of the Floridas, in the form particularly applicable to West Florida. These broadsides contained the text of the ordinances both in English and in Spanish, in substance practically the same as the corresponding East Florida ordinances printed in pamphlet form in the same year by Richard Edes at St. Augustine.¹⁶

Nicholas & Tunstall were the first official printers of the Territory. They printed the *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Passed at their first session 1822*, incorporating in the same volume various federal acts, ordinances, and treaties concerning the transfer of Florida to the United States and its establishment as an independent territory. This document was published "By authority. Pensacola: Floridian Press, 1823."

Nicholas published the *Floridian* alone from 1822 to 1823 and was succeeded by John Fitzgerald, formerly a printer of Clarksville, Tennessee, who continued the paper for another year until its final suspension in the spring of 1824. Fitzgerald also fell heir to the public printing; the *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida: Passed at their Second Session 1823* had the imprint "Published by Authority. Pensacola: Printed by John

16. Six of these broadsides are known. They are preserved among the State Department papers in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. In 1941 I published them in facsimile reproduction with an explanatory introduction.

ACTS
OF THE
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
OF THE
TERRITORY OF FLORIDA.

PASSED AT THEIR FIRST SESSION

1322.

TOGETHER WITH

The Treaty of Cession—Governor Jackson's Ordinances—The Act of Congress organizing the Territorial Government—Constitution of the United States—Spanish regulations for the allotment of Lands, &c. &c. &c.

BY AUTHORITY

PENSACOLA:
FLORIDIAN PRESS.

1323.
FROM THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Fitzgerald & Co. 1823." Fitzgerald apparently returned to Tennessee, for a pamphlet imprint shows the firm of Hall & Fitzgerald to have been printing the *Nashville Republican* in 1827.

The *Floridian* was continued as late as March 1, 1824. Shortly thereafter its office was sold to William Hasell Hunt, who established the *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser* on March 13, 1824. It was considered a successor to Fitzgerald's paper, and Hunt announced that "Subscribers to the *Floridian*, not withdrawing their names, will be considered as wishing to receive the *Gazette*, and expected to comply with the conditions," which were "Five Dollars per annum, payable *invariably* in advance." In his prospectus, published in the second issue of the paper, Hunt announced that he was disgusted with the state of national politics, and that his paper would "always be independently conducted on genuine republican principles." It was to include articles of news and information, and its columns were always to be open "to calm, dispassionate, and dignified communications, as well of those who do not, as of those who do agree" with the editor.¹⁷

William Hasell Hunt was born in Boston on August 31, 1800, and after studying at Harvard went to Kentucky in 1816, where his brother, William Gibbes Hunt, had been employed the year before as editor of the *Lexington Western Monitor*. The younger Hunt came to Pensacola early in 1822 and established there a bookstore and circulating library. From 1824 to 1829 he published the *Pensacola Gazette*. "Under Hunt's editorial supervision it was decidedly superior to all of its contemporaries. No

17. Knauss includes a facsimile of the front page of the second number of the *Pensacola Gazette*, March 20, 1824, in which the prospectus appeared.

other Florida paper published before 1845 contains more information of value to the historian than Hunt's *Gazette*." ¹⁸ From February 1828 until a year later, Hunt was in partnership with a Mr. Tardiff, and in 1829 Adam Gordon was editor of the *Gazette*. Hunt had previously employed Gordon and another printer to go to Tallahassee in 1824 to establish the first press and newspaper there, for the purpose of securing the public printing contract at the new capital.

Except for the newspaper, Hunt is known to have done little printing at Pensacola. The only recorded product of his press is *A Eulogy, on the Lives and Characters of John Adams & Thomas Jefferson*, by H. M. Brackenridge. It carried the imprint "Pensacola, Florida : Published by W. Hasell Hunt, 1826."

Hunt was tax assessor of Escambia County in 1824, clerk of the superior court of West Florida, a member of the Florida legislative council in 1829, and postmaster at Pensacola until he lost the position under Jackson's administration in 1829. He sold the *Pensacola Gazette* in July, 1829, and shortly afterwards went to Nashville, Tennessee, where he became publisher of the *National Banner* in 1830. Associated with him in this publication were his brother, William Gibbes Hunt, and Tardiff, who probably came with W. H. Hunt from Pensacola. Hunt and Tardiff remained together at Nashville for several years, and in 1834 Hunt established a magazine known as the *Kaleidoscope*. Hunt died at Nashville on July 3, 1841. Like his brother, he was a man of superior attainments and education, but, according to Knauss, he "came to Florida a decade too early." ¹⁹

18. Knauss, p. 17.

19. Knauss, p. 48-49.

When Hunt left Pensacola, the *Gazette* was then printed "weekly by Jerome D. Moore for the Proprietor, Publisher of the Laws of the United States and of the Territory of Florida." Apparently this title referred only to the publication of the laws in the columns of the paper, for the separate publication of the laws was done at Tallahassee. In 1830 Blount and Aitken became publishers of the *Pensacola Gazette*. Aitken was John Aitken, who left Florida for Texas and in 1831 was publisher with Robert E. Williamson of the *San Felipe de Austin Mexican Citizen*.²⁰ By 1833 the *Pensacola Gazette* was in the hands of P. M. S. Neufville, and in 1834 Benjamin Drake Wright became the owner. The latter was a Pennsylvanian by birth who became an important political figure in Florida, being a member of the territorial legislative council, mayor of Pensacola, chief justice of the state supreme court, and occupant of various other prominent positions. Wright was not a printer, so he brought John M'Kinlay from New Orleans to manage the practical end of his paper. M'Kinlay had learned to print on the *Charleston Courier* in South Carolina. He printed the *Pensacola Gazette* from 1834 to 1839 and thereafter was its publisher, at first with editorial assistance from Wright. M'Kinlay continued the *Gazette* until its suspension was forced by the Civil War. After the war he continued to work as a printer at Pensacola, although in another man's shop. "M'Kinlay is almost unique in one respect: during the eleven years that he was connected with the press of territorial Florida he seems to have held no public office, and he apparently desired none. He was a newspaper man first and last. . . . there can be no doubt about his skill as a printer. His super-

20. See Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Pioneer Printing in Texas*, Austin, Texas, 1932, p. 13.

ior in this respect was not found in Florida." ²¹

The *Pensacola Gazette* had no rival during the territorial period except in 1828, when Thomas Eastin, a printer with a long record of work in Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, decided to establish the *Florida Argus* at Pensacola. Probably he came to Florida from Greensboro, Alabama, where he was publishing the *Green County Patriot* in 1825.

When Hunt heard of Eastin's plan for an invasion of Pensacola, he wrote gloomily in the *Gazette* of April 4, 1828: "An Opposition Press-We have heard it whispered that another Press is to be established at Pensacola. If it can be possible that anyone feels disposed to contend with us for the little we now enjoy from the kind encouragement of our few patrons, be it so:-one or both must starve."

Eastin began the *Florida Argus* on "Tuesday morning, June 17, 1828." ²² In his first issue he wrote: "In our hurry to issue the first number of the 'Florida Argus' some errors have crept in, and want of time have prevented our preparing our rules, &c. so as to make it a fair and clear impression. Our debut has been rather hasty-time will improve our dress, as well as extend our means, by reason of an exchange of papers from different parts of the Union, of giving greater variety to our columns." In his formal prospectus in the first issue, Eastin announced, in part: "The editor is determined to keep aloof from all individual bias-to hold his press free from all party feuds and animosities, and to preserve his columns uncontaminated by private quarrels and animadversions-to conduct, in fine, an

21. Knauss, p. 71.

22. A complete file of the *Florida Argus* from its establishment June 17, 1828, to its final issue of November 18, 1828, is in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Knauss does not list this file or any other copies of the *Argus*.

impartial and *independent* newspaper. . . . The Mobile Commercial Register, Tuscaloosa Chronicle, Alabama Journal, Greensborough Herald and Claiborne Herald, will please give the above a few insertions."

By June 24, in his second issue, Eastin found time to express himself at some length on the cool reception given the *Argus* in the *Gazette's* editorial quoted above. Among other comments, Eastin said: "The Editor is not unaware of the obstacles which oppose themselves to his present and even to his ultimate success. With a full knowledge of them all, he has ventured with humble confidence upon the enterprize of surmounting them. He brings to the task a long acquaintance with the business in which he is engaged. . . . The Editor disclaims any intentions or wish to supercede any other of his profession. He is desirous only of a fair competition, and his course shall be such that hereafter vice and folly alone shall have the right to denominate him 'The Opposition.' " Eastin maintained a consistent stand in favor of encouraging new papers in the territory; in hailing the advent of the Tallahassee *Floridian* he commented "We are happy to find that the rapid increase of population in the Territory is such as gives encouragement sufficient for the establishment of a fifth Newspaper."²³ He expressed himself similarly at the establishment of the *Magnolia Advertiser*.²⁴

November 18, 1828, marked the last issue of the

23. *Florida Argus* of October 14, 1828.

24. "The Magnolia Advertiser. In another column the reader will find the Prospectus of a newspaper to be published under the above title, in the Town of Magnolia, Middle Florida. Nothing can conduce more, we conceive, to the moral and intellectual improvement of man, than well conducted public Journals, it is therefore hoped that the 'Magnolia Advertiser' may prove an useful vehicle of information to the community, and realize the highest expectations of its editor."

paper. Eastin there announced : "The establishment of the 'Florida Argus' will be transferred to Key West, from whence papers for the balance of the year will be forwarded to the subscribers of the Argus who have paid in advance." On December 26, 1828, Hunt had the pleasure of writing in the *Gazette* that "Mr. Eastin of the Florida Argus left for Key West with his Press, Type, & Materials on the brig Enterprise on 23d inst."

In 1823 the second legislative council, held at St. Augustine, decided that the capital must have a central location; a site was selected in the wilderness, and in 1824 Tallahassee was founded, midway between the important towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola. Naturally the prospect of a public printing contract attracted printers to the new capital, which became the fourth printing point in Florida. It was with the public contract in mind that William Hasell Hunt announced in the *Pensacola Gazette* of April 17, 1824: "We contemplate fixing a branch of our office at Tallahassee very shortly and in that case a newspaper will be published there as soon as mail routes are established." By October plans were completed for the new paper, and a prospectus for the Tallahassee *Florida Intelligencer* under the management of Gordon, Crane and Company was issued. Hunt wrote: "We have formed a partnership with Messrs. Adam Gordon and Ambrose Crane to publish the *Florida Intelligencer*." ²⁵ Type, press, and paper left Pensacola. for Tallahassee on November 15, 1824, ²⁶ and the paper was established February 19, 1825. ²⁷

25. From the *Pensacola Gazette* of October 23, 1824.

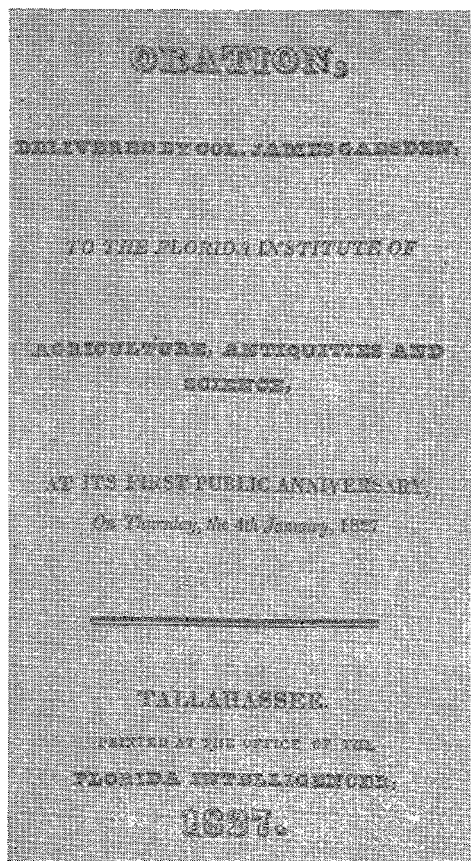
26. From the *Pensacola Gazette* of November 20, 1824.

27. The *Pensacola Gazette* of March 19, 1825, announced the arrival of the first number of the *Florida Intelligencer* and quoted from the February 19 issue of the *Intelligencer*. Also see Knauss, p. 24, for a discussion of the date of establishment of the *Intelligencer*.

The first number of the *Intelligencer* said that it would not be issued regularly until after the territorial laws were printed. Between February 19 and August 20, 1825, when the *Intelligencer* announced that it would resume publication, all the efforts of the printing office were devoted to the laws. As a result, the *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, passed at their third session, 1824, together with The former acts, and parts of acts now in force, the Laws of Congress organizing the government of the Territory of Florida, and Constitution of the United States* were published in a volume of more than three hundred pages, with the imprint "Tallahassee, Printed at the Office of the Florida Intelligencer, 1825. "

Gordon dropped out of the *Intelligencer* firm at the end of 1825, later to return to Pensacola and the *Gazette*. Crane published the paper alone until July 1826, when he was succeeded by Algernon S. Thruston, a twenty-five year old lawyer from Kentucky. He published the *Intelligencer* for about six months only, later becoming collector of customs and inspector of the revenue for the Key West district. The Acts of the fourth legislative council were issued with the imprint "Tallahassee. Printed at the Office of the Florida Intelligencer, 1826," and those of the fifth legislative council appeared at "Tallahassee, Printed by A. S. Thruston."

The *Intelligencer* was suspended between December, 1826, and February or March, 1827, when Edgar Macon purchased the plant and began the *Florida Advocate*. Macon was followed by Joseph D. Davenport. Beall and Greenup edited the paper for him during 1827 and 1828. They were succeeded in 1829 by Leslie A. Thompson, a lawyer, who acted as editor until the *Advocate* was amalgamated with the *Floridian* in August, 1829. Thompson was not a newspaper man or printer by profession, although he



From the library of Julien C. Yonge

BEGINNINGS OF PRINTING IN FLORIDA

83

later acted again as an editor, for the *Floridian* in 1831. He became a justice of the Florida supreme court and compiler of a notable digest of Florida laws.

Until the fall of 1828 the *Intelligencer-Advocate* office had the only press at the capital and received all the public favors, but on October 7, 1828, William Wilson established the *Floridian*, "most influential Florida paper of the succeeding half-century."²⁸ Wilson managed to secure the contract for printing the documents of the seventh legislative council, which met in the fall of 1828, and published the *Acts* of that session with the imprint "Printed by William Wilson. Tallahassee, 1829." Apparently discouraged by the loss of this important business, Davenport sold his *Advocate* to the *Floridian*, and after a short period as Wilson's partner, disappeared from the scene. Wilson remained publisher of the *Floridian* until 1837 and retained the public printing contract until that time, with the exception of 1831.

Samuel Shute Sibley, previously a New Jersey printer, acquired the *Floridian* in 1837. He began his career in 1829 when at the age of twenty-one he bought the Bridgeton *West Jersey Observer*. He sold this in 1833 and the next year obtained the Bridgeton *Washington Whig*, which he continued till he came to Florida in 1837. He sold the *Floridian* to Dr. Edward R. Gibson early in 1841 and left Tallahassee, but returned at the end of the year to take control of the *Floridian* again. He continued the paper for some years, leaving Florida for Georgia in 1841, when he became publisher of the

25. Knauss, p. 24, who gives a facsimile of the front page of the *Floridian* for November 18, 1828, v. 1, no. 7. A *Floridian* prospectus, dated "Tallahassee, Sept. 22, 1828," was published in the Pensacola *Florida Argus* of October 21, 1828. The *Argus* of October 14, 1828, had welcomed "the establishment of a fifth Newspaper."

Savannah Georgian. Sibley died at Savannah on November 18, 1858. He was Florida public printer in 1838 and 1839.

The third Tallahassee printing office was that of the *Florida Courier*, established in December, 1830, by William Mortimer Smith and edited by Edward R. Gibson. The paper lasted only a little more than a year, but during that year the firm of Gibson & Smith did the public printing. Gibson about 1832 became an associate editor of the *United States Telegraph* at Washington and assumed complete editorial charge of that paper in 1835. He returned to Florida in 1840 to publish the Tallahassee *Floridian*, first in partnership with Sibley and then with Nathaniel M. Hibbard. Both Gibson and Hibbard died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1841, and the *Floridian* continued until Sibley's return, later in the year, by F. H. Flagg.

Smith and Gibson are said to have lost two thousand dollars in their venture, but they did produce one famous work, *The Lost Virgin of the South*, a novel of Indian adventures during the War of 1812. It was written by Don Pedro Casender and carried the imprint "Tallahassee : Published by, and for, M. Smith, 1831." The names of both members of the firm appeared on the *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Territory of Florida*, published at "Tallahassee: Printed by Gibson & Smith, 1831."

Another Masonic pamphlet issued at Tallahassee was No. 3. *Annual Publication. Grand Lodge of Florida*, with the imprint "Tallahassee: R. Dinsmore Westcott, Printer. 1833." Westcott is not known to have been connected with a Tallahassee newspaper, but by May, 1833, he had established the *Advertiser* at Apalachicola, marking the introduction of the press there. He later moved his paper to St. Joseph.

John Baldwin and David Sheffer published the

THE
LOST VIRGIN OF THE SOUTH.
A TALE OF T R U T H .

**Connected with the history of the Indian war in the
South, in the years 1812-13-14 and 15, and Gen.
Jackson, now President of the U. States.**

BY DON PEDRO CASENDER.

Patra volentem ducunt nolentem trahunt.
"The fates lead the willing and drag the unwilling."

Astra regunt homines, sed regit astra Deus
"The stars govern men, but God governs the stars."

TALLAHASSEE:

PUBLISHED BY, AND FOR, M. SMITH

1831.

From American Antiquarian Society Library

Tallahassee Gazette briefly in the latter part of 1835, and Edward Chandler and C. R. Sessions published the *Tallahassee Florida Intelligencer* early in 1836. No. 5 of the Florida Masonic Grand Lodge annual communications was printed at "Tallahassee. David Sheffer-Printer. 5835," and No. 6 was published at "Tallahassee: Printed by Chandler & Sessions. 1836."

In November 1836 Joshua Knowles purchased the *Intelligencer* printing plant and established the *Florida Watchman and Tallahassee Literary Gazette*. Knowles was a preacher-printer who wandered through the south for half a century, filling pulpits here and there and editing newspapers and periodicals, chiefly religious, in his spare time. He printed in South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia.²⁹ Knowles had G. W. Hutchins as partner at Tallahassee. They succeeded to the Masonic printing, and *An Abstract of the Proceedings, of the Grand Lodge, of Florida*, met in January 1837, was published by "Knowles & Hutchins, Printers, Tallahassee, April 22d." The next year they published *Proceedings in Organizing the Diocese and Journal of the Primary Convention, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Florida* with the imprint "Tallahassee : Knowles & Hutchins-Printers. 1838." Knowles sold the *Watchman* in 1839 to J. B. Webb, who established the *Tallahassee Star*, while Knowles established the first press and newspaper at Quincy. This was the *Quincy Sentinel*, which Knowles brought back with

29. Joshua Knowles established the *South Carolina Watchman* at Columbia in 1830. After leaving Florida he went to Georgia and established the *Rome Courier* in 1851. This was followed by the *Southern Recorder*, and in 1855 he began the *Macon Journal and Messenger*, continued until 1863. In 1873 he established at Greensboro the *Georgia Home Journal*. From 1833 to 1868 he was a Methodist minister, and in the latter year he became a Protestant Episcopal minister. He lived at Greensboro, Georgia, from 1869 till his death on March 25, 1887. Knauss, p. 49-51.

him to Tallahassee as the *Florida Sentinel* in 1841. Knowles sold the *Sentinel* in 1843 and later went to Georgia where he published several papers. The *Sentinel* was continued by others for more than thirty years.

Joseph Clisby, purchaser of the *Sentinel*, was public printer in 1843, but with this exception the owners of the *Tallahassee Star* held the public contracts from 1840 until the end of the territorial period and later. B. F. Whitner, Jr., was public printer in 1840, and Cosam Emir Bartlett held the position in 1841 and 1842. The public documents were issued by the "Office of the Star of Florida" in 1844, and in 1845 Washington & Cosam Julian Bartlett were public printers.³⁰

The fifth printing point in Florida was Magnolia in the Tallahassee district. Here a press and newspaper was established December 12, 1828, by Augustus Steele, and shortly afterwards the *Pensacola Gazette*³¹ noted: "We have received the first number of the *Magnolia Advertiser* printed at the new and flourishing town of Magnolia on the St. Marks River. It is a small sheet, well printed."

In his prospectus, Steele published his profession of faith as follows:

"The rapid and almost unexampled increase of population and of business; which in little more than a year have made Magnolia a place of considerable commercial importance, the extent and variety of the resources on which depend her prosperity and support, and the necessity of having a vehicle of general intelligence at a point where the earliest

30. Cole, p. 213-214. (v. *Bibliography*).

31. Quoted from the *Pensacola Gazette* of December 26, 1828.

A prospectus for the *Magnolia Advertiser*, signed A. Steele, and dated "Magnolia, Oct. 14, 1828" appeared in the *Pensacola Florida Argus* of November 4, 1828. The prospectus also appeared in the second number of the *Magnolia Advertiser*, a copy of which is in the Library of Congress.

information, in a commercial as well as all other points of view, can be obtained together with the growing prosperity and increasing population of this portion of the Territory, have induced the subscriber to present himself to the public for their patronage, in support of a commercial paper in this place. As the design of the paper is, to be a general intelligencer for town and country, to aid in the dissemination of useful information to every class of our citizens, the conflicts and asperities of political parties, which can do any thing else but promote the objects for which it is intended, will be excluded from its columns. When not otherwise occupied they will be enriched with selections from the most approved periodical publications of the day, and with such original matters as may from time to time be furnished, to add interest and usefulness to its pages. The earliest intelligence, upon subjects in any way connected with the interests of the Territory, will be given, and from the assistance which has generously been offered by gentlemen of literary and scientific acquirements, and of extensive means of information, the editor is confident of being amply able to redeem his pledge.

"A price current of the products of our country, and of the articles of foreign growth and manufacture in this, and other markets, will be regularly furnished, carefully and accurately corrected from time to time from advices by the different arrivals from other ports.

"In thus presenting a brief outline of his views, the Editor feels confident, from the variety of his resources, and from advantages of location, of offering to his patrons a useful and interesting Journal which shall entitle him to the support of a liberal and enlightened community.

"A. Steele."

Steele discontinued the paper early in 1830. He later became a member of the state legislature and held various public offices until his death in Welborn on October 26, 1864. Except for the *Advertiser* no printing is known to have been done at Magnolia during the early period.

The sixth printing point in the present state was Key West, almost entirely separated from the rest of Florida on its little island at the extreme southern tip of the peninsula. Thomas Eastin, itinerant printer who, as has been noted, published the *Florida Argus* at Pensacola during the last half of 1828, came to Key West early in 1829 and on January 8 established the *Key West Register and Commercial Advertiser*. The paper was suspended in 1830, and from 1834 to 1836 Eastin was United States marshal at Key West. He was navy agent at Pensacola in 1839 and later lived in Mount Vernon, Alabama, dying in 1865 at the age of seventy-seven.³²

After the suspension of Eastin's *Key West Register* no printing was done on the island until the establishment of the *Key West Gazette* by Benjamin B. Strobel and L. M. Stone in the spring of 1831. A sample copy was issued on March 21, and the first regular issue appeared on April 20. In October, 1831, Thomas N. Jeffrys became publisher, with Strobel and Stone as editors. Strobel became sole editor in February 1822, and he and Jeffrys continued the paper until September 5, 1832, when it was probably discontinued. At the time that he began the *Gazette*, Strobel was acting army surgeon at Key West. While he was associated with the paper he was also town councilman and port physician. In the fall of 1832, after the paper was suspended, he returned to his native South Carolina

32. Knauss, p. 68-69.

and practiced medicine in Charleston. He was appointed an army surgeon for the Seminole War.³³

Another paper³⁴ was begun October 15, 1834, when Jesse Atkinson established the *Key West Enquirer*, which lasted until the fall of 1836. It was edited by William Adee Whitehead, a native of New Jersey, who had some pretensions to a literary and historical viewpoint in his conduct of the *Enquirer*. He was later mayor of Key West and eventually returned to New Jersey.

William D. Wharton established the *Key West South Floridian* in the summer of 1838; it was continued as late as the end of 1839. Edwin L. Ware and E. B. Scarborough began the *Light of the Reef* at Key West in 1844. In 1845 this paper became the *Key West Gazette*, published by Scarborough.

A printing firm at Key West not known to have published a paper there was that of G. F. Hopkins & Son, who were active in 1838. The only recorded product of their press is a sixty-four page pamphlet in Spanish, intended as a vindication of attacks made on the Count of Villanueva, general superintendent of Cuba, in the Florida press. This was entitled *Apuntaciones de un Empleado de Real Hacienda, En vindicacion de la superintendencia general delegada de la isla de Cuba, bajo el mando del ecselentisimo senor Conde de Villanueva, con motivo de las especies falsas y calumniosas esparcidas en varios folletos y periodicos recien publicados en la peninsula*. The title page was ornamented with a wood-cut, and the imprint was "Key-West,

33. Knauss, p. 70-71.

34. Knauss, p. 39, suggests that between 1832 and 1834 there may have been a paper published at Key West with the name of *Sentinel*.

December, 1838. [G. F. Hopkins & Son, Printers.] ³⁵

Florida's seventh printing town was Apalachicola, where R. Dinsmore Westcott brought a press in the spring of 1833 after a brief appearance at Tallahassee in the same year as printer of the Masonic annual report. He established Apalachicola *Advertiser* in April or May 1833. On October 1, 1835, Westcott issued the prospectus of a new paper to be established at nearby St. Joseph, and shortly after he began the *St. Joseph Telegraph*. In November, 1835, Westcott combined the *Advertiser* with it.

Apalachicola was a land-boom town pushed by a real estate firm, and when a decision of the United States Supreme Court took the land away from the company in which Westcott was interested and sent the company, the printer, and his press to establish a rival community at St. Joseph, the new real estate company looked about for a new publicity organ. They succeeded in bringing to Apalachicola a Georgia newspaper publisher of nineteen years experience, Cosam Emir Bartlett. He had studied at Dartmouth College and learned printing in a shop at Hanover, although he later became a lawyer. He is said to have edited a Charleston, South Carolina, paper before becoming co-publisher of the *Columbian Museum* at Savannah, Georgia. He published the *Macon Telegraph* with his brother Myron, and in 1828 he established the *Savannah Mercury*. He edited the Columbus, Georgia, *Democrat* in 1830 and

35. A copy of this pamphlet is in the Boston Public Library.

George F. Hopkins & Son of Key West was probably the firm of similar name which had printed earlier in New York and Cincinnati. George Folliott Hopkins published five papers in New York City, four of them under the editorship of Noah Webster, Jr. These were the *New York Herald*, 1796-1797; the *New York Minerva*, 1796-1797; the *New York Spectator*, 1797-1799; and the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 1797-1799. Webster was not associated with Hopkins' *New York Weekly Inspector*, 1806-1807. In 1819 and 1820 George F. Hopkins was co-publisher of the Cincinnati, Ohio, *Inquisitor*.

is said to have published a paper at Milledgeville, Georgia.

Bartlett established the *Apalachicola Gazette* on March 10, 1836. According to Knauss, "A better man for the situation could hardly have been found. Bartlett was keen, humorous, resourceful, and energetic. He was indefatigable in his attacks on St. Joseph and its business. He gave to the *Gazette* far more personality than was usually found in the sheets of the day." Bartlett published the first and only daily paper in Florida during the territorial period when he issued a daily *Gazette* in 1839 and 1840. In the latter year he sold the *Gazette*, which was continued by others, and purchased the *Tallahassee Star*, in the publication of which he was assisted by his sons, who were the last public printers for the territory and the first for the state of Florida. After 1846 Bartlett published his Tallahassee paper as the *Southern Journal*.

According to tradition, Bartlett one day got rid of some unpleasant callers who objected to his policies by threatening to blow up the visitors, the printing office, and himself with a lighted match held over a keg of gunpowder. He was an extraordinarily firm-minded and intelligent printer and publisher. He died near Columbus, Georgia, on October 10, 1850.³⁶ His sons, Washington and Cosam Julian Bartlett, were both printers. Before their father's death they had left Florida for California, where Washington Bartlett established the *San Francisco Journal of Commerce* on January 23, 1850, with equipment which had been brought from Florida. Washington Bartlett later became mayor of San Francisco and governor of California.

Apalachicola had the *Apalachicola Courier* for a few months in 1839 and 1840, published by Joseph

36. Knauss, p. 53-56.

Croskey. The old *Gazette* became the *Florida Journal* in 1840 and was continued till 1843 by J. B. Webb and others. In 1843 it became the *Watchman of the Gulf*, under E. A. Ware and William T. Robinson, but it lasted only from August to October. It was later revived for a short period. In 1840 the *Commercial Advertiser* was established at Apalachicola by T. H. Thompson and G. F. Baltzell. During part of its career it was known as the *Apalachicolian*.

As a result of the land-boom activities already mentioned, St. Joseph had a newspaper before it really existed. At least it seems reasonable to believe that Westcott printed his *St. Joseph Telegraph*, begun in November 1835, at his Apalachicola office at first, for we are told that by the middle of 1836 there were only three small huts on the site of St. Joseph.³⁷ Westcott sold his paper to Peter W. Gautier, Jr., in July 1836, and the paper became the *St. Joseph Times*. Gautier was assisted by R. A. Domingue from 1839 until the paper was discontinued in 1841.

In 1838 St. Joseph triumphed over its rival, Apalachicola, by securing the Florida constitutional convention. As a result of this meeting the *Journal of the Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates to form a Constitution for the People of Florida, Held at St. Joseph, December, 1838* was published at "St. Joseph: Printed at the 'Times' Office, 1839." The *Constitution or Form of Government for the People of Florida* had the same imprint, and as a special bow to the constitutional convention, the publishers of the *Times* felt called upon to print on blue satin a broadside *Constitution of the State of Florida*.³⁸

Jacksonville preceeded St. Joseph as a printing

37. Knauss, p. 111, citing contemporary references.

38. Copies of the *Journal* and of the pamphlet *Constitution* are in the Library of Congress. The blue satin broadside is in the Huntington Library in California.

point, with the *Jacksonville Courier* established January 1, 1835, by Lorenzo Currier, with Elijah Williams as editor. Both Currier and Williams were from Massachusetts. Williams left the firm in November, 1835, and Currier sold the paper in 1836, after it had been suspended for several months, to Haslam and Dexter. They were succeeded in 1838-1839 by Weir and Richardson, with the Reverend David Brown as editor. Brown was born in Rhode Island and came to St. Augustine in 1833 as a missionary. He left Florida in 1843 and died in Lambertville, New Jersey, on December 7, 1875. He did no newspaper work except for the *Jacksonville Courier*, but he did issue proposals in 1838 for establishing the *Florida Magazine*, which, if it had been established, would have been the first magazine in the territory.

The *Jacksonville Courier* was discontinued in 1839 before the establishment in September of the second Jacksonville paper, the *East Florida Gazette*, by Aaron Jones, Jr. The *Gazette* was discontinued by the end of 1840, and Jones, with Thomas T. Russell, began to publish the News at St. Augustine. For two years no paper was issued at Jacksonville, but in December 1842 George M. Grouard established the *Tropical Plant*, after having issued a prospectus in November. This paper was succeeded in 1845 by the *Florida Statesman*, which Grouard sold a year later. In 1846 he published the *Whig Banner* at Palatka, south of Jacksonville.

There may have been a printing office active in Jacksonville in 1842 even though no paper appeared until the end of the year, for at least one book is known to have been printed there in that year. It is also possible that the printer whose name appears on it was a member of the *Tropical Plant* staff. The book in question is *A Descriptive List of all the Private Land Claims in East Florida*, published with

the imprint "Jacksonville, E. F. Printed by George Shidell. 1842."

Quincy, northwest of Tallahassee, became the tenth printing town when the *Quincy Sentinel* was established there November 15, 1839, by Joshua Knowles. Clisby and Smith were associated with the *Sentinel*, which was brought to Tallahassee early in 1841. Except for this brief period there was no printing at Quincy during the early period, but the little *Sentinel* office seems to have had a fairly active career. The *Journal of the Third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Florida* had the imprint "Quincy: Printed at the Sentinel Office. 1840." The next year *A Journal of the Fourth Annual Convention* of the same body was issued at "Quincy: Printed by Clisby & Smith. 1841."

Port Leon in the Tallahassee district was promised a newspaper as early as September 20, 1839, when Albert R. Alexander issued proposals for establishing the *Southern Merchant*. Probably this paper never appeared, but by June, 1843, Albert R. Alexander was editing the Port Leon *Commercial Gazette*, published by R. H. Alexander. A devastating storm in September, 1843, destroyed Port Leon, and the town and its newspaper moved to Newport. Albert R. Alexander established the *Newport Patriot* about that time, but its later history is unknown. James Baker Carlisle published the *Newport Gazette* in 1846, and the *Wakulla Times* at Newport in 1849.

March 3, 1845, Florida entered the Union as a state, and the pioneer period was thus officially brought to a close.

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- Dr. Knauss's work is the standard authority on Florida newspaper history of the territorial period and covers most of the field well and thoroughly. Siebert gives an account of the first press and its background. Nichols presents his usual interesting summary. There is, however, no complete survey of this state's printing history, for the record of one of the earliest and historically most important presses, that of Fernandina in 1817, has only recently come to light.

MATERIAL IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES RELATING TO FLORIDA, 1789-1870 *

by ELIZABETH B. DREWRY

From the time of the first meetings of the First Continental Congress in 1774, when steps were taken to record the actions of the Congress, there has been an almost continuous agitation for an appreciation of the historical importance of the official records of the United States Government. As the years went by and valuable documents were damaged and lost through fire, inadequate space, neglect and ill-use, the feeling became more widespread that the records of our Government's activities deserved a better fate than they were receiving. Periodically proposals were made for adequate housing and centralized control. It was not, however, until 1934 that these efforts culminated in the appointment of the first Archivist of the United States and the establishment of the National Archives. Since that date a vast quantity of Federal records formerly located in widely scattered and often inaccessible places throughout the city of Washington have been brought together under one roof. In addition to materials from the city of Washington, large groups of records have been received from our diplomatic and consular posts abroad as well as from various field agencies of the Federal government throughout this country.

In the National Archives Building efforts have been made to place the records, many of which have had a difficult and neglected existence, under the best possible conditions for their physical welfare.

* NOTE - Miss Drewry, a member of the staff of the National Archives, came from Washington to read this paper before the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society at St. Augustine, March 6, 1942.

An object of equal importance has been that of making them readily available to investigators. The latter task has varied according to the previous condition of the collections. Those of the Department of State, for example, were received in good physical condition ; they were well organized and arranged and could be used with relative ease, while those of certain other departments were in an extremely chaotic state with, unfortunately, many gaps. For many groups it will be years before it can be said that they are in order, but in the meantime concerted efforts are being made toward that goal.

Persons interested in collections in the National Archives are assisted in various ways. *A Guide to the Material in The National Archives* was published in 1940 and is kept up-to-date by supplements that are issued each quarter. A number of detailed descriptive lists are available to assist those who come to the building to work, and an extensive correspondence is carried on with persons in all parts of the country who wish information from the records. Among the requests that are received many pertain to local and regional history. While the Archivist is not the custodian of records of state and local governments or of non-governmental organizations, he does, nevertheless, have in his keeping some material from these sources which has come into the possession of the Federal government in the conduct of its own activities. It is to be expected, furthermore, that among the several hundred thousand cubic feet of records now in the Archives Building there will be information for the history of any state largely in proportion to the extent to which the activities of the Federal government have directly affected the lives and interests of the people of that state.

The purpose of this paper is to answer briefly the question, "What is there in the National Archives

of interest to a student of Florida History?" It is not intended to give an exhaustive account of individual items relating to the subject but rather to point out certain high lights and to indicate relationships between the major collections in the hope that these will suggest further possibilities to students engaged in the field. Since the records are arranged primarily according to the principle of provenance, by agencies of origin rather than topically, papers relating to a particular subject or region are not grouped together but are to be found scattered through the files of the different offices and agencies that were concerned with them in the exercise of their official functions.

Florida, more than many states, is well represented in the Federal archives. The circumstances of her relations with the United States while yet a province of Spain, of her existence as a territory of the United States for almost a quarter of a century, and of her participation in the Civil War were such as to result in the creation of records, now in the National Archives, that are of more than average value to those who are concerned with her history. Chief among these are records of the Departments of State and War, the Office of Indian Affairs, the General Land Office, and the United States Senate.

Much of the material described will not be unfamiliar to the students who have done such excellent work in collecting and consulting all available data concerning the state. They will be interested doubtless in the fact that so many of the original Federal documents are now, in one place. They will be interested also in the knowledge that original material is available in many cases where formerly the investigator had to be content with government or private publications of a secondary character.

It is to be expected that the records of the Federal government will furnish little information prior to the year 1789. There are, however, certain exceptions to this. The earliest of the records in the National Archives Building that relate to Florida date back to the period of British occupancy. They were transferred recently with other records of the General Land Office. Unfortunately, they are extremely fragmentary and would be of little service if used alone. They should be, however, of supplementary value in connection with such groups as the British Florida papers in the Library of Congress. They include land warrants, survey plats, and other evidence of British land grants in West Florida. An occasional paper, such as the will of Thomas Hutchins, military engineer and geographer, or an inventory of holdings of Major Robert Farmar, a planter of considerable means, gives an enlightening glimpse of property held by the British settlers. A few petitions to the king made during the Revolution are from loyalists, forced out of the rebellious colonies and seeking lands in the south and in the vicinity of the Mississippi. Among these is a petition of Timothy Dwight of Massachusetts Bay, father of the first President of Yale. With the exception of this small group of papers the National Archives contains little relating to Florida history prior to the time of the adoption of the Constitution. Most of the papers of the Continental Congress, it will be remembered, are in the Library of Congress. There are, however, in the National Archives the original of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 ending the Revolution and certified copies of the Provisional Treaty of 1782 with its separate article, of significance in later disputes with Spain, providing a secret boundary settlement favorable to Florida in case it should be retained by Great Britain.

With the transfer of Florida to Spain at the close of the Revolution, that territory became a focal point in relations between His Catholic Majesty and the new Republic of North America; and by the time of the organization of the Federal Government questions involving boundary and trade had already arisen. The interest of this Government in such questions, as well as its policies in regard to the acquisition of East and West Florida, is set forth in the correspondence of the Secretaries of State and War and in the files of the Senate. Since for the period of Spanish occupation the diplomatic records are the more extensive and date from 1789 while those of the War Department begin only in 1808 (earlier ones having been burned in the fire of that year), it may be well to give first consideration to the former. The series of Instructions of the Secretaries of State to our ministers abroad and the Notes from the Department to foreign representatives, as well as the incoming Despatches from the ministers and the Notes from foreign legations, treat of the episodes incident to the final acquisition in 1821. They are concerned with the long series of difficulties between the two governments, European influences affecting the policy of Spain, the control and administration of the Floridas, complaints growing out of border disputes, commercial relations, Indian affairs, actions and expressions of the ministers of Spain in their losing fight to retain their American possessions.

Material relating to Florida appears chiefly in our diplomatic correspondence with Spain and to a lesser degree in that with France and Great Britain. Of significance are the treaties that resulted from a large part of it and that caused a great deal more : San Lorenzo of 1795, the Louisiana purchase of 1803, and finally the Florida purchase of 1819-1821. Related to the treaty of 1795 are the reports of An-

drew Ellicott from 1796 to 1802 in which he describes the work of marking the boundary between the United States and the possessions of Spain. Individual items that are diplomatic in character are scattered through various collections. For example, letters of James Seagrove, Special Agent to East Florida during Washington's administration and commissioned to effect a settlement in regard to fugitive slaves, are filed in the Miscellaneous Letters received by the Secretary of State. Among the papers of the Special Agents and Special Missions are such items as the reports concerning John H. Robinson, accredited to the colonial official, Nimecio de Salcedo, in 1812, while diplomatic relations with Spain were closed. One of Robinson's duties was to explain the seizure of West Florida. Here also are instructions to David B. Mitchell, Governor of Georgia, appointed to treat with the Governor of East Florida after the unsuccessful revolution of 1812.

In addition to the collections mentioned above, which give a continuous story of diplomatic negotiations, miscellaneous data concerning Spanish administration and internal affairs in Florida are to be found in the early duties of Florida Territorial Papers. Information on the East Florida revolution of 1812 can be obtained from the letters of John H. McIntosh, Director of the short-lived Republic of East Florida, proclamations by the revolutionists, requests for annexation, and a manuscript copy of the constitution of East Florida of 1812. The part played by the United States government is reflected in instructions, the exact meaning of which has long been questioned, of the Secretary of State to his emissaries, George Mathews and John McKee, and their reports on the subject of intervention. These are followed by communications of later agents, David B. Mitchell and Thomas Pinckney, to the Sec-

retary and correspondence with the Spanish authorities in connection with the withdrawal of United States troops from the section.

There is a small group of papers concerning Gregor MacGregor and Louis Aury and the East Florida disturbances of 1817, including some of MacGregor's picturesque proclamations in which he referred to himself as "Brigadier General of the armies of the United Provinces of New Granada and Venezuela, and General-in-chief of that destined to emancipate the Provinces of both Floridas, under the Commission of the supreme government of Mexico, and South America, etc. etc. etc." In addition, there can be found minutes of the proceedings of the Special Court investigating charges against Arbuthnot in 1818, and copies of letters between Andrew Jackson and his aides and the Spanish authorities of West Florida in the same year.

Similar material is to be had in the papers of the nearby territories. For example, those of Mississippi contain official correspondence relative to the situation in West Florida, filibustering movements about Mobile, 1810 to 1812, and the expeditions against that section in the War of 1812. The Orleans papers treat, among other things, of the Kemper outrages, navigation of the Mobile, relations with Spanish officials in West Florida, the state of the Spanish garrisons, the sale of lands in West Florida, commerce, Indian affairs, fugitive slaves, the effect of embargoes on relations with West Florida, and revolution in that region.

For the operations of United States troops in and about Florida prior to its annexation, the incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Secretary of War is of major importance. Since the commanders of the border posts were vitally concerned with relations with Florida it received repeated attention in their communications. Their accounts of internal

conditions and events supplement those in the files of the Department of State. Evidence of cooperation between the two departments is revealed in letters between the Secretaries, in reports of both to the President and to Congress, and in instructions to commanders who were in a position to render information of value alike to State and War. Letters to W. C. C. Claiborne, Wade Hampton, James Wilkinson, Andrew Jackson and others and their replies show the actual steps taken in expeditions into Spanish territory. In connection with the mission of Mathews and McKee, there are instructions to the military officers to lend aid in the proposed undertaking. As well as frequent references to problems of navigation of Florida rivers, Indian difficulties, and border disputes, there is emphasis, particularly during the War of 1812, on the strategic importance of Florida, British interest in it, Spanish impotence, and American grievances. Jackson's reports in 1817 and 1818 of his war with the Seminoles, the capture of Pensacola, and his treatment of Arbuthnot and Armbrister bring to a close the story of military operations prior to 1819.

Since the Senate plays such an important role in foreign relations, it is not surprising that its files contain much on Spanish Florida. The collection in the National Archives consists of both legislative and executive papers. The former include Messages of the Presidents, reports from the departments, petitions and memorials, committee reports, bills and resolutions. The executive papers relate almost entirely to the appointment of officials and the conduct of foreign relations and include nominating messages of the Presidents and notations as to the action of the Senate. With the exception of petitions and memorials, a large part of the material in the Senate files is available in the published documents.

Directly related to incidents mentioned above are

messages of the President such as those of January 3, 1811, concerning West Florida, and of January 14, 1813 and January 14, 1815, concerning East Florida, together with supporting documents from the Departments of State and War, and later communications on the subject of the Seminole disturbances. Of significance in connection with these are the original Presidential Proclamations and Acts of Congress preserved among the records of the Department of State. Among the former is the proclamation of October 27, 1810, assuming the jurisdiction of West Florida, the prelude and sequel to which can be read in the writings already indicated. While it seems unnecessary to mention laws on the subject, it may be of interest to note that the unique secret acts passed on January 15, 1811, and February 12, 1813, authorizing the President to take possession of East and West Florida, are filed in their proper places in the collection of originals though they do not appear in the published statutes until several years later.

With the treaty of 1819 Florida was secured for the United States. Correspondence concerning the treaty is in the files of the Departments of State and War as well as those of the Senate. Its ratification did not, however, remove the province at once from the diplomatic scene. The delay until 1821 in the actual transfer caused Florida to receive considerable attention in the correspondence with Spain and had its effects on our relations with the countries of South America. Even after 1821 subjects such as that of the retention of the Florida Archives provided the reasons for continued demands on the part of the United States and lengthy explanations and promises by Spain. The attempts to obtain those archives, which had been removed by the Spaniards to Havana, and which according to article 2 of the treaty were to be turned over to

the United States, receive attention in the diplomatic and consular series, in Special Agents, Miscellaneous Letters, Territorial Papers, and in a separate group known as Florida Archives Papers, 1830-1835. In the last is the private journal or diary of Jeremy Robinson covering the years 1832 to 1834, in which he describes the difficulties met in his attempts to examine the archives and the procrastination and continual evasions of the officers in Havana.

The importance of these papers for the settlement of land claims explains the persistency of the Department of State in pursuing them. The life histories of the various groups of the Spanish archives of East and West Florida are long and involved ones. Part of their story appears in the reports of the agents sent by the Department of State to obtain those carried to Havana. It is continued in papers in the files of the Interior Department which took over the task of attempting to trace and gain possession of those most elusive documents.

Closely related to the Spanish archives are the files recently received from the General Land Office that contain considerable material on the private land claims. The private land dockets include copies of many of the original papers that have been retained in the state. These together with the records relating to the administration and settlement of the public domain in Florida, all of which are now in the National Archives, furnish the sources for the study of the Federal land policy during both the periods of territorial and state government. The incoming correspondence and reports from the Surveyor General's Office in Florida and from the offices of the Registers and Receivers provide information on land law, on land titles and surveys, and on the progress of settlement.

For the history of the early administration of Florida after the transfer the Territorial Papers

are most valuable. They contain letters of those taking part in the transfer and in the organization of the new government, including Andrew Jackson, Jose Callava, Joseph [sic.] Coppinger, Colonel Robert Butler, James G. Forbes, John R. Bell, James Gadsden, William P. DuVal, George Walton, H. M. Brackenridge, and Judge E. Fromentin. In these are described the delays and disputes incident to the transfer, conditions in Florida, legal questions arising with the change of sovereignty, commerce, Indian affairs, and early administrative problems. One volume includes a set of maps and charts of Florida sent to the Secretary of State by Jackson in 1821.

Unfortunately there was no systematic policy of filing the reports from the territories to the Secretary of State. The quantity varies for different localities and even for different years. The Florida Territorial Papers extend only to 1828 whereas Florida did not become a state until 1845. Even before 1828 it is necessary to examine the Miscellaneous and Domestic Letters as well as the Appointment Papers of the Secretary of State for further information. After 1828 incoming reports are to be found almost entirely in Miscellaneous Letters. In addition to official correspondence from territorial officers, letters from private individuals to the Secretary of State on a wide variety of subjects are also included in this series. To give but one example, letters written in 1844 by orange growers complaining of insect ravages upon their groves resulted in instructions to our consuls in the Mediterranean area to collect information that might be of assistance to them.

Indian problems were significant from the beginning of the territorial government. Records of the Office of Indian Affairs are of first importance in this connection. The files of this office begin with 1800, the earlier ones having been destroyed in the

War Department fire of that year. Since Indian affairs during these early years were handled directly by the Secretary of War, a series of outgoing letter books of that officer from 1800 to 1824 reflects the policy of the Government toward the Indians. These books together with some of the early incoming correspondence are filed with later records of the Office of Indian Affairs. Much of the incoming correspondence, however, must still be sought in the War Department files. Since, however, both groups are in the Archives Building the inconvenience of this separation is not a great one.

Beginning with 1824 the records of the Office of Indian Affairs are more useful than the earlier ones both in content and arrangement. Through these may be traced the story of Federal administration of the Indian problem before and during the Seminole wars. The reports refer to the conflicts arising between settlers and Indians involving lands, boundaries, depredations, and slaves. They deal also with talks in council and the treaties of Fort Moultrie of 1823 and Payne's Landing of 1832, which paved the way for white settlement and Indian removal, and finally of Indian discontent with the settlement and the resulting outrages. Incidentally, these two treaties together with the agreement at Fort Gibson in 1833, regarding western lands for the Seminoles, are with other Indian treaties in the State Department collection.

Included in the Indian Office files are letters from Governors William P. DuVal, R. K. Call, and John H. Eaton, agents Gad Humphreys and Wiley Thompson, and from James Gadsden and others. Naturally a large portion of the records relates to accounts, disbursements; and routine matters of administration. They do, however, furnish a view of the background of the Seminole wars. A letter of Lieutenant Joseph W. Harris, disbursing agent at

Fort King, Florida, of December 30, 1835, describes the opening scene of the struggle: the murder of the agent General Wiley Thompson and his companions by the Indians.

After the beginning of hostilities it is necessary to go to the War Department files for information on operations of the troops and movements of the Indians. The reports retained by the Indian Office relate largely to accounts, plans for the removal of the Indians, and claims for depredations. When removal was finally accomplished by 1859, it was considered unnecessary to maintain an agency for the few Indians remaining in the state. From then until recent years, when the agency was reestablished, they received little attention.

Reference has already been made to the incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Secretary of War. In addition to this, there is for the territorial years considerable material in the records of the Regular Army and Volunteers pertaining to the Seminole wars of 1835 to 1858. Grouped with these is correspondence of the Department of Florida and antecedent commands from about 1840 to 1884. For the period of the Indian wars, there are instructions, general and special orders, reports of operations and troops, descriptions of Indian depredations and movements, and accounts of the efforts to remove the Indians and to encourage and protect white settlements.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the records received from the War Department are among the most extensive in the Archives Building. The major files have been transferred from the offices of the Adjutant General, the Judge Advocate General, and the Chief of Engineers. Portions of these have been but recently acquired and because of their quantity and present arrangement it is impossible to give more than a very general idea of

the contents of pertinent groups. Students of Florida history working with the records of this department will undoubtedly find much more material on their subjects than can be indicated here.

In the collection of the Office of the Chief of Engineers will be found maps and papers dating from 1789 to 1894 regarding the activities of the Engineer Corps and of the Topographical Bureau in relation to roads, harbors, fortifications, and military reservations. Items concerning the territory of Florida include reports on roads, forts, and military operations during the Indian wars, lands for military reservations, and surveys for canal and railroad routes.

During the years 1821 to 1845 numerous subjects concerning Florida came before the Senate, beginning with the bill to authorize the President to take possession of East and West Florida. Early bills related to the establishment of the territorial government, commerce and navigation, preservation of timber, claims and titles to land. In the records of the twentieth Congress are papers relating to the boundary line between Georgia and Florida. During the 1830's bills were presented for the suppressing of Indian hostilities, for canals and railroads, and for the sale of lands for the establishment of a seminary of learning. By 1840 reports and bills relative to the admission of Florida into the Union had been introduced. A number related to the proposal for the division and future admission of the states of East and West Florida.

There are petitions and memorials concerning these and similar subjects. In the files of the seventeenth Congress is a petition for a road from St. Augustine to Pensacola; in those of the eighteenth is a letter regarding a trans-Florida canal and a memorial of the legislature requesting aid for the territory and for a university therein. Among mis-

cellaneous papers is a copy of the *Florida Gazette* of October 20, 1821. Among the copies of the acts and resolutions of the Legislature is a resolution of reverence and affection for General LaFayette, adopted December 11, 1825.

With the admission of Florida into the Union in 1845, it is to be expected that administrative records will be found in local and state files rather than in those of the Federal government. Nevertheless, the two authorities, state and Federal, touched at many points. Mention has already been made of the continuance of interest through the 1850's on the part of the War Department and the Office of Indian Affairs in military and Indian matters in the state. Supervision by the Federal government over the public lands continued as well. Records, therefore, of the Departments of War and Interior as well as those of the Senate continue to be of significance. Those of the Department of State contain less material than for the previous years. What there is consists mainly of formal communications between the secretaries and the governor.

Reference should also be made to the records of the Department of Justice. While these have less direct bearing upon the history of Florida than is the case with those of the three departments already mentioned, nevertheless, pertinent material on a variety of subjects is to be had in the files of the office of the Attorney General and in the departmental files. Due in part to the fact that many of the Attorneys General looked upon the papers as their personal possessions and took them with them when they left office, there are large and unfortunate gaps for the early years. The official opinions, however, and the related correspondence received from the President and heads of departments contain data on legal questions of significance to the government. Among these are records involving Flor-

ida land claims, Indian affairs, controversies growing out of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and cases which went to the Supreme Court of the United States.

For the Civil War period the files of the War Department are the chief source. These are so extensive that it would be fruitless to attempt a description of the numerous series in a brief account. The publication of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* has been a boon to students and no attempt to use the original records would be practical until the resources of these volumes have been exhausted. The preface by Elihu Root to the General Index volume gives an indication of the extent of the original documents.

Though parts of these also were published in the *Official Records*, mention should be made of the archives of the Confederate States, captured, for the most part, upon the fall of the Confederacy. They include files of the Confederate War Department, military divisions, and armies, as well as a few from other government agencies. There are papers of the Senate and House of Representatives, messages of the President, reports of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Treasury, and other officers. Many bear directly or indirectly on Florida's part in the Confederacy. In the various groups are battle reports, general and special orders, and circulars pertaining to operations within the state, and returns of various Confederate posts located there. Final accounts relate to the surrender of Major General Sam Jones, commanding the Confederate forces in Florida, to Brigadier General McCook, in May of 1865, at Tallahassee.

Of interest in connection with the records in the War Department files are additional papers of the Confederate government transferred to the National Archives from the Department of the Treasury.

Most of these pertain to the Confederate Treasury and its operations. A small group is concerned with the administration of customs in Florida. Its papers refer mainly to the customs districts of Apalachicola, Pensacola, St. Johns, and St. Marks, and are in most cases financial accounts of the collectors.

Earlier reference to the Department of the Treasury has not been made because the major portion of its old files has not been transferred to the National Archives. One group which has been received is of significance for the period since it concerns the Special Agencies of the Treasury, established during the Civil War to take care of the problems of commercial intercourse and the captured and abandoned property in the South.

For Reconstruction, the files of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands are worthy of note. The monthly and annual reports of the commissioner and the sub-commissioners in Florida describe general conditions in the state, the attempts of the planters to reestablish themselves under the new forms of labor contracts, the attitude of the civil government and the courts toward the freedmen and the northern whites, attempts of the Bureau to provide for the negroes and to educate them, political conditions, settlement of the freedmen on the public lands, and similar projects.

Related subjects are treated in the records of the military districts set up for the government of the southern states during Reconstruction. For the third district, which included Florida, Georgia, and Alabama, there are letters, general and special orders, instructions to the commanders in the sub-districts, and reports to the General in Chief of the Army. There is in addition correspondence of the Bureau of Civil Affairs for the third district. The subjects treated include supervision of the provis-

ional state governments by the military authorities, recommendations for civil offices, review of cases before the courts, and actions of the military in connection with the carrying out of state laws. These records and those of the Freedmen's Bureau furnish considerable information concerning political, economic, and social conditions in the South during Reconstruction. In the correspondence of the Military Department of Florida, already mentioned in connection with the Seminole wars, is further material relating to the close of the Civil War and to Reconstruction, including reports on general conditions in the section, letters regarding freedmen, correspondence with Treasury agents concerning captured and abandoned property, and references to relations between the military and civil authorities.

The material which has been mentioned is of significance principally for the period extending from 1789 to about 1870. Main emphasis is placed upon these years not because there is no later material but because they mark a significant period in Florida history. Other collections not treated here will undoubtedly be of value for special studies. To mention only a few, there are marine documents from the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation of the Department of Commerce, comprising certificates of registry and enrollment and licenses issued to vessels in ports of the United States, including those of Florida, for the period 1815 to the present. For persons interested in family history, the military pension files furnishing information concerning members of the armed services who fought in the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Indian, Mexican, Civil, and Spanish American wars are of interest as are the population census schedules for the years 1790-1870, those for Florida dating from 1830. Records received from the War De-

partment furnish information concerning the Spanish American War and the first World War.

For the period of the first World War the National Archives has extensive files including those of such war agencies as the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, the Committee on Public Information, the United States Shipping Board, and the Food Administration. These give an excellent picture of war activities throughout the entire country. They are used not only for private research but also for studies of many sorts being undertaken by agencies of the Government in connection with the present war effort. And for an almost contemporaneous picture of economic conditions throughout the country the records of the National Recovery Administration are proving of increasing value.

The present emergency appears to be sharpening rather than dulling the consciousness of the importance to be attached to the records of the past as well as to those being created now. The National Archives even before the beginning of the war had undertaken studies of the most effective means of preserving and protecting its records. It is now making every effort to continue its service to both government and private investigators, and to insure at the same time the adequate protection of its collections.

PIONEER FLORIDA

by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

SIDELIGHTS ON EARLY AMERICAN ST. AUGUSTINE

The Change of Flags, as it is called, designating the official transfer of East Florida from Spain to the United States under the treaty of cession, took place at St. Augustine July 10, 1821.

Preparations had been made for the publication of a newspaper at St. Augustine by an experienced newspaper man, R. W. Edes, of Maine, and the first issue was to appear on the day of the change of flags. A printing press had been shipped to St. Augustine and everything was in readiness for the first number, when the Spanish authorities protested the publication of the paper until they should embark for Cuba. In consideration of the sensitive feelings of the Spaniards, Edes withheld the initial issue until July 14th. The paper was named *Florida Gazette* and was the first American newspaper to be published in Florida. It was a weekly. There are no known copies of the first number extant, but according to *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore) of August 4, 1821, it contained a copy of the treaty of cession, General Jackson's proclamation preliminary to assuming the governorship of Florida, and an account of the surrender of the province. No doubt the last contained details of the transfer that are now lost forever; but some of the main features were covered by the Charleston Courier of July 17, 1821, reprinted in the Savannah *Republican* of the 19th, as follows:

Change of Flags

"By the arrival last evening of the sloop *Wasp*, Capt. Chester, from St. Augustine, we learn that the American flag was hoisted at that place on the 10th inst.- At 5 o'clock in the morning, a salute

was fired from the fort by the Spanish troops and the Spanish flag displayed. At 3 p. m., the American colors were hoisted with the Spanish, and the American troops landed at the South Battery, and marched directly to the fort. At 4 p. m., the Spanish troops marched out, and the Spanish flag was lowered under a salute of 21 guns from the fort, which was answered by the U. S. schooners *Tartar* and *Revenge*, at anchor in the harbor.

"The following vessels were at anchor outside the bar of St. Augustine, bound to Havana, with Spanish troops, munitions of war, &c., under convoy of the U. S. schooner *Porpoise* and the Spanish government schooner *Barbaretar* [sic] : Ship *Meteor*, [Captain] Glover. Schooners : *Adeline*, Isreal ; *Alexander*, Rogers ; *Florida*, Johnson ; *Consitution*, Arnold ; *St. Augustine*, Jones. Sloops : *Rapid*, Perry ; *Leopard*, Strong ; and *Endeavor*, Finch."

From *Niles' Weekly Register*, August 4, 1821: "The Spanish troops, about 500 in number, sailed July 16th for Havana, with many of the [Spanish] civil officials and their families. None of the civil officers of the United States had arrived [at St. Augustine] at that time, except the marshal, Mr. Forbes. George Gibbs had been appointed collector pro tem."

Library of Congress has a broken file of the *Florida Gazette* for the period July 28-December 22, 1821. From these papers we get a glimpse of some of the activities at St. Augustine in its first five months as an American town ; of the ambitions of its newly arrived citizens, and their ideas about improvements and betterments-only a glimpse, however, for these early newspapers did not publish much local news. It should be kept in mind that such as happened there then was amidst one of the worst yellow fever epidemics in St. Augustine's history-the late summer and fall of 1821.

A Plan to Increase Population

One writer had a unique idea about increasing the population of the town. "It is universally admitted," he says, "that in all countries the women have an irresistible influence in the management of public as well as private affairs. Now my plan is no less than this: an immediate intermarriage between the Spanish Ladies and American Gentlemen, and vice versa, between the American Ladies and Spanish Gentlemen of St. Augustine. This would at once allay all irritation and jealousy that unhappily may have been excited, by a change in the government of the country. It would cement the bonds of union between us; and tend more to produce harmony, good fellowship, and brotherly love than any inducement of private interest or public office. To carry into immediate effect so desirable an object, and give the plan every possible scope, in the range of the population of this town, it is proposed that every married man, a resident here, who has been absent from his wife for the term of six months; and every married woman, in the like predicament in regard to her husband, be instantly divorced, and thus set free, to come into this important measure, so essential to the population, welfare, and prosperity of the country. A petition should therefore be immediately sent to His Excellency, Governor Jackson, soliciting an ordinance to that effect; which most assuredly he would not hesitate to grant, considering the great public benefit which would necessarily result from it." (From the *Florida Gazette*.)

One of the first communications to the *Gazette* related to a canal and what would result from its construction: "Let a canal be cut to connect the waters of St. John's river with those of St. Sebastian, and this town [St. Augustine] will at once take a start which will bid defiance to all rivalry; and nothing in the world is easier to be done. The

ground is level and easily laboured. In six months' time, with active directors, the work may be accomplished-but let us not in the meanwhile, stand idle with our arms folded, and say we must wait till then before we do anything towards improving the town-or that we must wait till the back country be settled and cultivated. We ought, on the contrary, to begin here, on this very spot, and show the States of the Union that emigrants who are disposed to come and settle here will find, at least, the comforts and conveniences of life, in addition to the salubrity of our air, our fish, and our oranges."

Some Beginnings

On September 13, 1821, a meeting was held in the council chamber to take into consideration the subject of establishing a Protestant church, a library, and a public academy. Resolutions were offered by W. G. D. Worthington, Esq. (Secretary for East Florida), which were discussed and adopted. These resolutions, in brief, were:

Subscriptions to be opened for the erection of a Protestant church, each person subscribing to add his choice of the denomination, whether Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Unitarian, etc. ; a committee to be appointed to select a suitable site for the church; the same steps to be taken in regard to a "Protestant Church Yard" or "Burying Ground." *On the library:* A committee to be appointed to draw up a constitution and by-laws for a public library, to be called the "Library Society of Florida"; meetings to be held in St. Augustine; dues \$1.00. *On schools:* A committee to be appointed to report the best practical plan for a public school or schools for the inhabitants of East Florida: Messrs. DuBose, Mitchel, and Braxton were forthwith appointed as the committee on schools. (From the *Florida Gazette*, Sept. 15, 1821.)

It would be interesting to follow the progress of these resolutions, but about a month afterwards Edes died of yellow fever and the paper struggled along for a few months and then suspended publication. Skipping over a period of some two years to its successor, the *East Florida Herald*, we discover :

Justice on the Rampage

A case of an unlawful detainer having been brought for trial in December, 1823, by the corporation of the city of St. Augustine before a court of justices composed of Mr. Gould and E. R. Gibson, Justice Gibson demanded of Waters Smith, United States marshal for that district, the use of the public building belonging to the United States government in St. Augustine, called the government house, in which to hold a court for the trial of the case. A room in the building was immediately opened by the marshal which was considered in every way sufficient for the justices' court. Justice Gibson, however, refusing to occupy this room, demanded of the marshal through the medium of the sheriff, the use of another room in which the Superior Court was accustomed to hold its sittings. This demand the marshal refused, whereupon Justice Gibson ordered the sheriff to, make forcible entry. The sheriff likewise refused. Justice Gibson then took a pick-axe, broke open the door himself, took immediate possession, and prepared for the trial of the case.

At this time the marshal entered the room, protested against the occupation, and ordered the justice and all other persons to leave the apartment. Justice Gibson, instead of obeying, committed the marshal to the county jail for twenty-four hours for a contempt of his court. The marshal immediately petitioned for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted by Judge Joseph L. Smith, of the

Superior Court for East Florida, who ruled that the marshal had acted in conformity with his official duty and directed that he be set at liberty. (*Niles' Weekly Register*, February 28, 1824.)

The wind now turned and blew the other way. At the January term of the St. John's county grand jury, Justice Gibson was summoned to appear and give his authority for breaking open the court room door. His explanation seems to have been based on the theory that the room as used was not a sanctified "temple of justice" at all, but a general meeting place for all the gatherings in St. Augustine, and that his court was as important as any of these. He said:

"The court room in the government building is used by the Episcopal Church, and as a meeting house for the Presbyterians and other religious denominations; meetings of the Bible society and land commissioners ; Agricultural society and Sunday schools; Masonic orations and Fourth of July speeches; committees of the people and funeral sermons; Spanish contre dances and Virginia reels ; Legislative Council and Episcopalian vestry; county courts, justices courts, superior courts and United States courts; and by all meetings of the people, whether they meet to petition against the land commissioners, to nominate members of the Legislative council, or to present Governor Duval. Scarcely a day has passed for the last nine months; but the room has been used for some of these purposes, and on some days for two or three of them." (*East Florida Herald*, February 7, 1824).

From this it would seem that St. Augustine had become an active place in two and a half years of the United States regime.

THE CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC SITES IN FLORIDA *

by C. R. VINTEN

In past years I have noted with great interest the concern expressed by members of the Florida Historical Society for the protection of the historical and archeological relics which still exist in Florida. In listing these accounts of strange archeological sites and of interesting historical areas, I have always asked myself the question, "What can be done to save the most valuable of these sites so that they will not have to share the fate of many which have been wantonly destroyed?" I believe we will all agree that these historical and archeological relics, which have been passed down to us through many generations are the things which tell the story of Florida most vividly, and which under effective administration and control might become of great educational value to the people of Florida and those who visit the state in such large numbers. The Society is to be congratulated for the conservation work it has already done.

Possibly the experience of the National Park Service in Florida and the experience of the State Park Service and local agencies would be of value to this Society in determining how these historical and archeological values might be preserved. At the present time the National Park Service is preserving and interpreting several areas of national significance in Florida. Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is a notable example of the way a preservation program can be applied to a splendid old historic relic. Then there is Fort Matanzas

* This address was read before the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society at St. Augustine, April 27, 1944. Mr. Vinten is Coordinating Superintendent, Southeastern National Monuments, National Park Service, St. Augustine.

National Monument, fourteen miles south of St. Augustine, which is being carefully guarded. Fort Jefferson National Monument in the Dry Tortugas, sixty-five miles west of Key West, is one of our most intriguing relics of the Civil War period. Even the thirty-nine mile stretch of island in the Pensacola region, Santa Rosa Island National Monument, possesses a considerable amount of historic and archeological interest. The Everglades National Park, when established, will contain many important archeological sites, and there are no doubt other areas in Florida that might later prove to be of national significance.

The Florida Forest and Park Service in its State Park program has established Fort Clinch State Park at Fernandina. The park ties in very definitely with the Spanish colonial period and also tells a very interesting story of colonial struggles, as well as the Civil War period represented by the ruins of the old fort. Torreya State Park on the Apalachicola River, Caverns State Park near Marianna, Goldhead Branch State Park near Keystone Heights, and even the beautiful scenic areas of Myakka State Park near Sarasota and Highlands Hammock State Park near Sebring, all have backgrounds of interest and can tell stories which make the history of Florida live more vividly. County and local interest in the preservation of relics and the interest of organizations such as the Florida Historical Society indicate that there is a statewide effort being made to protect and preserve the things which can contribute so much toward a greater understanding of the State of Florida.

While the areas just mentioned might be considered the important historical and archeological sites in the state, there are many others of possibly equal value and interest, or of lesser value and interest, which have no definite sponsorship and consequently

no specific assurance of future protection. These are the areas which constitute our major problem - a problem that, in my opinion, is one in which the entire state of Florida should be interested. It is in connection with this problem that I ask myself the question, "What are we going to do about it?"

There are some who believe that things should be preserved merely for the sake of preserving them. There are others who believe that we should preserve these important values for the things they can contribute in the way of education, inspiration and enjoyment. Recently one of our visitors at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument was a lady who had served as curator of the Hanby House Museum at Columbus, Ohio, for many years. She attended our Saturday morning Children's Hour program, at the time the youngsters organized their "Castillo Club". When she returned home, she wrote a most delightful letter about her experiences in carrying out a similar program for children at the Hanby House. One comment in her letter which impressed me was the statement of one of the children in her Hanby House Club. This young man made an observation which I think expresses most clearly the reaction of the layman and his appreciation for any efforts that are expended in the direction of preserving our historical heritage. His simple comment was, "Isn't it fine that these places and things are saved, so that a fellow can learn just by looking!" That statement seems to give us the key to a door that might open the vast storehouse of knowledge, now locked up in abandoned or neglected areas. If the field of historic and archeological interpretation could be expanded, this knowledge could then be more readily available to those who enjoy the experience of "learning just by looking".

I know of no organization in Florida that is better qualified to sponsor a historical conservation pro-

gram, to accomplish the better preservation and interpretation of these sites, than the Florida Historical Society. While such a program covers a very broad and complicated field, I believe the solution is a simple one if we approach it as a series of progressive steps, not trying to solve the entire program at once, but to accomplish a definite purpose in accordance with a definite objective, one step at a time. These steps seem to be as follows:

(a) Create a general interest throughout the state favorable to the preservation of archeological and historic sites. This may be done through the press, through state and national magazines, through motion pictures, radio and any other means of publication.

(b) Establish responsibility for these things by setting up a state administration, or assigning the responsibility for site preservation to some state agency. After all, a problem of this kind can be given closest and most permanent attention if things of statewide interest are recognized as official state responsibilities.

(c) Under such administration, surveys of various historical and archeological sites in the state could be completed and this information consolidated so as to be of greatest value in planning an effective conservation program.

(d) On the basis of these surveys, areas could be classified to determine if they might be of national significance, state significance, local significance or merely of minor importance.

(e) In order to start such a program on a small scale it would be advisable to take one or two of the most important sites and plan the program of protection and interpretation in such a way that the area or areas will become a demonstration of what may be expected from efforts in broader fields. Demonstrations already exist in national park and

state park areas in Florida which can serve as a safe guide and specification.

(f) As the last step in such a program, we should not forget to provide for adequate support, so that complete protection and adequate interpretation services may be available.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

THE HISTORY OF CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS AND FORT MATANZAS

Last year the National Park Service issued *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* by Albert C. Manucy, historical technician of the Service at St. Augustine. This was the first publication of its "Interpretive Series." It was reviewed in this Quarterly, the issue of July 1943 (xxii, 44-47).

Recently the Service has published one of its "Source Book Series" (No. 3) : *The History of Castillo de San Marcos & Fort Matanzas from Contemporary Narratives and Letters*, with Mr. Manucy as editor. This is a similar brochure of thirty-eight pages, with thirteen illustrations most of them full-page. It is sold by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, at ten cents.

This second publication, different from the first, comprises excerpts from contemporaneous historical material of all periods, which together give a fair outline at first-hand of the history of the old Castillo and its satellite far to the south. There is also an introduction, an epilogue, and a bibliography by Mr. Mauncy.

Anything written long after an event, or relating to a period, has far less historical value than what is recorded at the time. In addition, the contemporaneous writing has a flavor, lacking in the other, which lends it additional interest. So these gems, selected as they were with discernment, carry you back, each to its own period.

As this territory was Spanish the greater part of the time, the selections were mostly found in that language and required translation. This has been done by the editor in all cases but one, and done skilfully. In that case there was a satisfactory translation at hand.

THE PROVINCE OF CAROLINA ON THE COAST OF FLOREDA

The Tracy W. McGregor Library of the University of Virginia has reproduced in facsimile *A Brief Description of The Province of Carolina On the Coasts of Floreda. . . Together with a most accurate Map of the whole Province.* London . . . 1666 [Charlottesville, 1944. \$5]

There are included a "Bibliographical Note" (3p.) and an "Introduction" by John Tate Lanning (7p.)

The title will come as a surprise to those of us who are unaware, or have forgotten, that ancient Florida covered a vast area. The map extends well into Virginia-yet all of this was "Floreda."

NEGROES IN THE SEMINOLE WAR

The part that slaves and free Negroes played in the Seminole War is often overlooked or underrated. Professor Kenneth W. Porter, who, in the *Quarterly* of January last, gave us a new and quite possible version of Wild Cat's (Coacoochee's) famous escape from Fort Marion, has made a study of the subject. Some of the results of that research are published in *The Journal of Negro History* (vii, 390-421) under the title "Florida Slaves and Free Negroes in the Seminole War, 1835-1842."

One of these was the remarkable Negro Luis Pacheco, guide to Major Dade's command on its ill-dated march. Professor Porter writes of him, also, in *The Negro History Bulletin* of December last (vii, 52--) under the title "The Early Life of Luis Pacheco ne Fatio."

THE TRAIL OF THE FLORIDA CIRCUIT RIDER

The Florida Southern College Press, Lakeland, has issued *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider*,

An Introduction to the Rise of Methodism in Middle and East Florida, by Charles Tinsley Thrift, Jr. (168 pages, cloth \$2.)

The book is best described by the sub-title. True, it follows the Trail, but only from Conference to Conference, and never quite catches up with the Rider. This is not the fault of the author, for the Rider has long since passed on from his Trail and left only childhood's recollections of a few of our elders. He has left also the fruits of his labors—but little of himself. John C. Ley and S. P. Richardson have given us a bit of what we want most, but there must be more and Professor Thrift well may find it, for he is making a detailed study of early Methodism in Florida and we'll hope he brings enough to light to give us a real picture of the Rider, a character who well deserves a full-length portrait.

The book contains much information of the establishment and the organization of the Florida Conference. There is some warrant for the main title in the author's tribute to the devotion and self-sacrifice of his Rider.

F. W. HOSKINS

Author of *History of Methodism in Pensacola, Florida*.

THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

No one of his era in this country was more versatile than, or had so wide an acquaintance and contacts and correspondence as Thomas Jefferson. Now all of his extant writings of every kind, as well as letters written to him, are to be published by the Princeton University Press, with Julian P. Boyd as editor. It is hoped that every piece of such may be brought to light for inclusion, especially letters from or to Jefferson still in private hands. If there are any in Florida, Dr. Boyd would be glad to hear of them.

THE P. K. YONGE LIBRARY OF FLORIDA HISTORY

The University of Florida has established a research library of Florida history to encourage the writing of our state's history there and elsewhere. Its nucleus is the collection of Floridiana of Julien C. Yonge which has been given to the University as a memorial to his father, who was a member of the Board of Control of the Institutions of Higher Learning from its beginning and its chairman for two decades. The governing board of the library includes among others Dr. Rembert W. Patrick of the University and Miss Louise Richardson, librarian of Florida State College for Women. Mr. Yonge is its director.

This is the third of such libraries in Florida. Each includes all kinds of historical material; but, though they are similar, their purposes are not identical, and in time their composition probably will be more or less different. For a hundred years our archives have been neglected, but now a department of state archives has been established in the State Library, so doubtless that will be the especial field of that library. The library of the Florida Historical Society might tend more to include what might be called relics—not with the common meaning of the term, for the place of such is in Dr. Van Hyning's Florida State Museum, but rather the historical material left us by our fathers. While, like the others, including every kind of historical material, the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History will specialize more on copies of the vast amount of archives relating to Florida in Washington and elsewhere.

With the cooperation between them which is assured, and with the aid of The Union Catalog of Floridiana at Rollins College, Florida must in time overtake the other states of the South in the writing of her history.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DIRECTOR T. RALPH ROBINSON

As was noted in the last issue of the *Quarterly*, T. Ralph Robinson of Terra Ceia has been appointed as our director from the new sixth district. Mr. Robinson has a master's degree from Syracuse University, and for more than forty years has been engaged in plant breeding investigations with the United States Department of Agriculture, chiefly concerned with developing improved varieties of citrus. He has now retired, but is continuing work on pappas, avocados, and mangoes. His publications include more than sixty titles dealing chiefly with subtropical horticulture. He is a Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science, a member of other scientific societies, and Past President, Florida Horticultural Society.

President Philip S. May has given our library a typed copy of a diary and letters of his great grandfather, Dr. John M. W. Davidson of Quincy, Florida. These are of the period 1860 and 1861, and contain much historical material of the Quincy region before and at the beginning of the War for Southern Independence.

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139

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143

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